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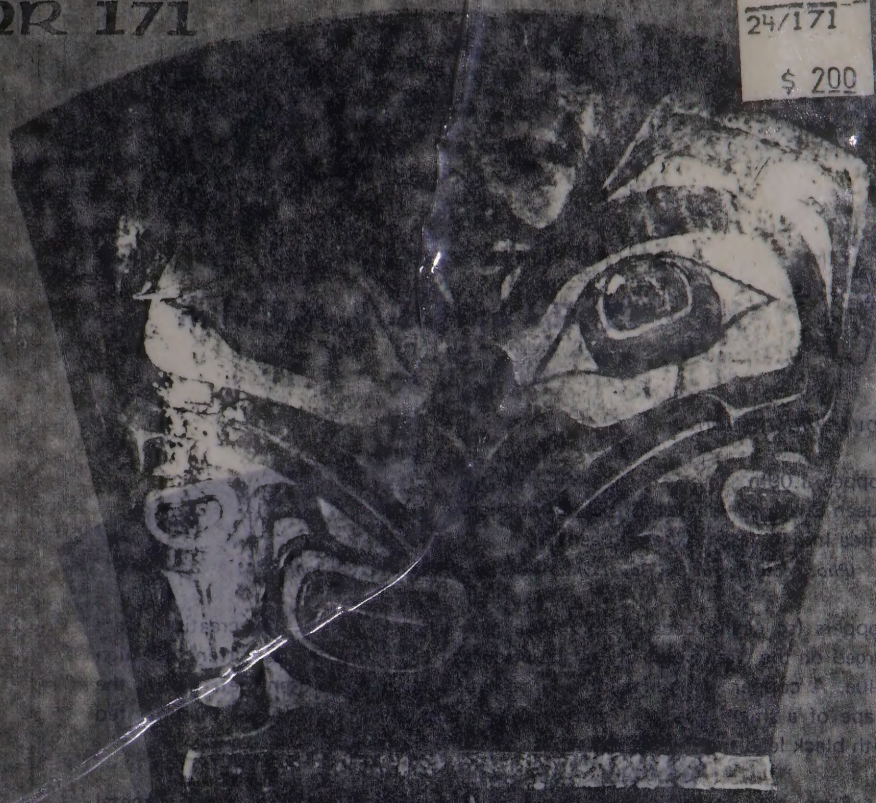

native peoples and mining

Glen Lazore

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Copper, 1.09m.
Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia
Haida Indian, late nineteenth century
(Photo courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada)

Coppers (so called because this metal was always used in their creation) were forged on the West Coast of Canada prior to 1800 and served as currency of high value. A copper was made of a large flat sheet of the beaten metal cut in the shape of a shield with a T-shaped ridge imposed upon it. It was then painted with black lead through which a crest design was often cut.

Such artifacts represent considerable sophistication in the art of metal fabrication, the artisan having to repeatedly reheat and rework the copper sheets until a desired shape and thickness was achieved. There is archaeological evidence to suggest that some forms of native metal working are as old as 2000 years, demonstrating not only the antiquity of the relationship between native peoples and metal but their considerable skill and knowledge of its recovery and use.

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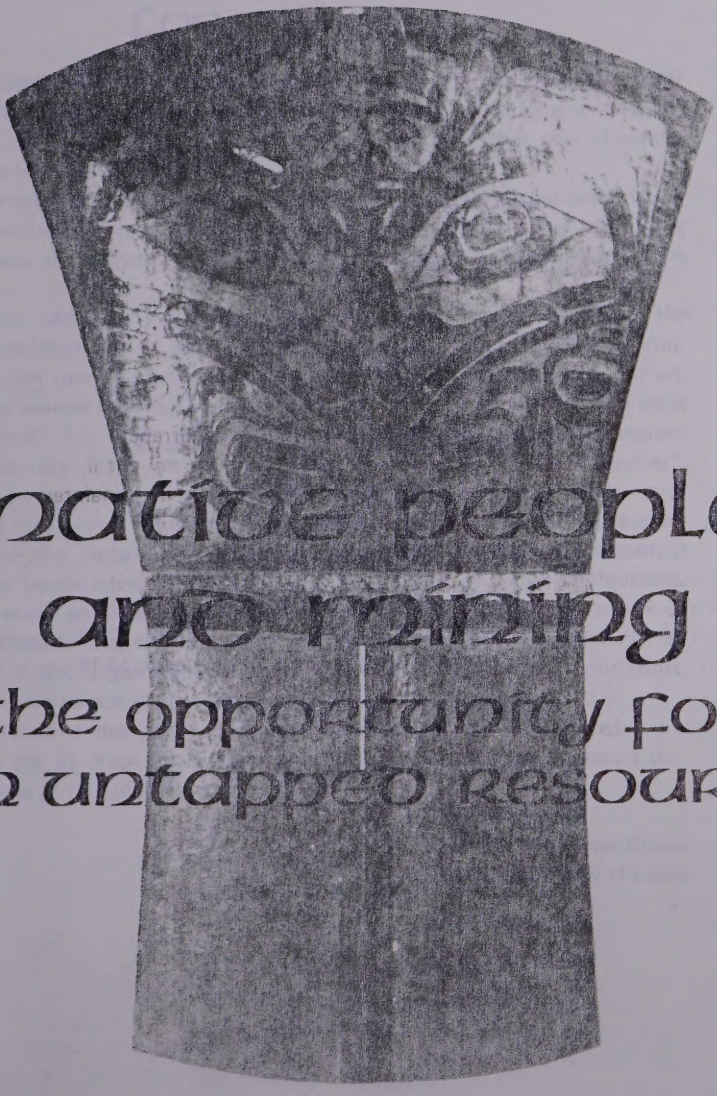

native people and mining

the opportunity for an untapped resource

Glen Lazore

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Minéraux

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foreword

The objective of the Human Resources Group, the section within EMR for which this paper was written, is to relate mineral development to social needs. The manpower issue within the mineral industry is but one of several presently under consideration.

In the manpower area the work of the Group is oriented toward determining how men and women may be attracted to the mining industry and identifying what changes, if any, are necessary to encourage them to remain within the occupation.

A readily identified impediment to growth in the mineral industry is the geographic isolation felt by many people at mining sites today. In general terms, those from the more densely settled southern areas of Canada are as yet unattracted by remote locales. On the other hand, there are people who call these regions "home". For them, living in what might be termed the frontier regions holds few terrors. These are the indigenous, the native people of "Kana'da".

This publication does not deal with the totality of issues facing native peoples and the mineral industry nor does it directly relate to the work presently underway at the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) or by its committee dealing with the subject of native employment. Rather, it seeks an answer to the question: how native peoples in search of economic stability might profit from the mining industry's requirement for manpower? It also suggests where, in order to overcome manpower constraints, the mining companies may find the manpower they require.

The author of this publication is an anthropologist, a Mohawk who is a member of the St.-Regis Band. He was asked early in 1976 to present a personal overview of the subject.

Human Resources Group
Mineral Economics Division

abstract

Increasingly, jobs within the mineral industry remain vacant at a time when native peoples, often living adjacent to mineral developments, suffer from the effects of high unemployment in communities deeply rooted in poverty. By fostering conditions within the mineral industry which would make employment more attractive to Indian and Inuit peoples, a substantial contribution could be made toward solving not only the manpower issue which industry faces but the problem of poverty within native communities as well.

The maps included in this report illustrate the juxtaposition of the two problems. they cannot adequately convey however the seriousness of either problem. It is surprising that to date little effort has been made to reconsider employment practices, management techniques, education and training of native peoples which would allow both them and the industry to profit.

The difficulty of attracting and maintaining a stable labour force in the mineral industry in recent years has had an effect on productive capacity. If forecast requirements for minerals are to be met, the demand for labour is expected to increase. Labour shortages could thus constitute a serious constraint on the industry's anticipated growth. This report tries to identify the types of obstacles which currently hinder native employment and suggest to all interested parties how these can be overcome.

résumé

À une époque où les autochtones, qui vivent souvent près des exploitations minières, souffrent des répercussions d'un taux élevé de chômage dans des agglomérations où la pauvreté est profondément ancrée, un nombre sans cesse croissant de postes demeurent vacants dans l'industrie minière. L'établissement, dans cette industrie, de conditions qui pourraient inciter davantage les Indiens et les Inuits à y travailler, contribuerait pour beaucoup à résoudre non seulement le problème d'embauche auquel fait face l'industrie, mais aussi le problème de la pauvreté qui sévit dans ces agglomérations.

Les cartes comprises dans ce rapport illustrent la juxtaposition des deux problèmes. Toutefois, elles ne peuvent traduire fidèlement leur gravité. Il est surprenant de constater que peu d'efforts ont été faits jusqu'à ce jour pour examiner de nouveau les méthodes d'embauche, les techniques de gestion, l'éducation et la formation des autochtones, ce qui serait profitable tant à l'industrie qu'à ces derniers.

Au cours des dernières années, les difficultés éprouvées par l'industrie minérale pour attirer et garder une main-d'oeuvre stable ont influé sur la capacité de production. Pour répondre aux besoins prévus en minéraux, on prévoit que la demande en main-d'oeuvre devra augmenter et que les pénuries de main-d'oeuvre pourraient en conséquence limiter considérablement l'expansion escomptée de l'industrie. Le présent rapport s'efforce d'identifier les obstacles qui nuisent à l'heure actuelle à l'embauche d'autochtones et de suggérer à toutes les parties intéressées comment ces obstacles peuvent être surmontés.

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"I think that all of us feel a sense of guilt not so much toward the Indian as toward the fact that we haven't really addressed our minds to his problems."

Pierre Elliot Trudeau quoted in
C.E. Hendry, *Beyond Traplines,*
Toronto, 1969

Introduction

When I was first asked to write a report on the Native Peoples in the mining industry, my initial reaction was that Larry Caverhill's "An Overview of Employment of Indians in the Mining Industry", written for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, in January 1975, was adequate – another report on Indians and the Mining Industry would be superfluous.

In his paper, Caverhill had set out to present the Indian as a mine worker. On the way, he gathered information which he thought might help identify and analyze the problems regarding the employment of Indians in the mining industry.

The fact that I have now undertaken the report does not indicate any personal dissatisfaction with the work of Caverhill, which I regard as an important and lasting contribution to the literature. Rather, it reflects a growing conviction that the data concerning Indians in the mining industry are far from exhausted and that a study of these data from an Indian viewpoint would complement, rather than duplicate, Caverhill's paper.

Larry Caverhill approached the matter from the viewpoint of someone who had worked alongside Indian people. He had the added advantage of also being familiar with the Department of Indian Affairs. My background, on the other hand, is different. My interest stems from the fact that I am an indigenous person and have studied Indian people of North America. It seems to me that this different orientation might permit me to treat the subject in a different manner from Caverhill. Secondly, there was a need to examine the potential Indian labour force and to concentrate on some information that Caverhill did not cover. It is principally these anthropological, historical and statistical interests which motivated me to undertake the project. The study includes a description of the composition of the indigenous peoples, and reviews some of the limiting factors which have prevented their entry into mining employment, as well as some of those which have encouraged them.

Because the involvement of Indian and other indigenous people in mining has been a relatively recent occurrence, very little "hard data" on the subject are available. This study, therefore, consists of both fact and impression gleaned from the available information and has its basis in sources and studies done by people other than the author. Due to severe time constraints, the framework originally conceived for the study has had, of necessity, to be modified. My intention is to present an overview of Indian and indigenous people, their relationship to the development of the mineral industry, and to recommend changes which might maximize the productivity of both the people and the industry.

Inasmuch as indigenous people are in a position to aid the development of one of the country's foremost industries through their manpower potential which has been only superficially considered and never fully utilized, it is hoped this paper will provide some stimulus for constructive discussion between all concerned parties; government, the mining industry and the indigenous people of Canada themselves. In return, a more positive attitude between industry's management and the indigenous people may emerge.

I wish to thank S.A.C. Crandall, Sinclair Collymore, Art Irwin, Don Sneddon, Brian Deer and Paul Gorlick from DIAND for their generous help and assistance. I would also like to thank Jozef Lajzerowicz, Roberta Santi, Nicole Mercier, John Desmarais from EMR and Bear Seymour for their constructive comments and suggestions during the final stages of this report.

Glen Lazore

WHO ARE THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE?

DEFINITION

Canada is the home of many indigenous peoples, whose languages and culture vary greatly from one group to another. Among Indians in 1973, there were eleven separate linguistic groups, fifty-seven dialects, and a corresponding population composition as follows: (Table I)

TABLE I

Linguistic Groups and their Dialects

Linguistic Groups	Number of Dialects	Population
Algonkian	12	172,483
Athapaskan	14	24,149
Haida	1	1,471
Iroquoian	2	23,679
Kootenayan	1	452
Salishan	12	23,465
Siouan	2	6,962
Tlingit	1	509
Tsimshian	3	8,794
Wakashan	4	8,086
Inuit	5	18,500
Total (1973)	57	288,550

Among Inuit there are five dialects of the Inuktitut language which can be divided roughly on a geographic basis:

The Western Arctic
The Central Arctic
Keewatin
Baffin Island
Northern Baffin Island and the High Arctic

None of the political boundaries established in Canada correspond to the traditional boundaries between the different tribal groups or language stocks. For example in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island the indigenous people all speak a dialect or dialects of the Algonkian language stock. In Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Quebec they speak Algonkian, Iroquoian and Inuit. In British Columbia, there are seven distinct linguistic stocks.

The Beothuks of Newfoundland, members of the Algonkian language group, were completely exterminated in the 1830s.

PRESENT CLASSIFICATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

The present indigenous and mestizo population of Canada can be divided into four groups: (1) Status Indians, (2) Non-Status Indians, (3) Métis, and (4) Inuit.

(1) Status Indians

The federal government in Canada has jurisdiction over "Indians, and Lands Reserved for Indians". Since the establishment of the British North America Act there has been special legislation in force dealing with Indian people and Indian reserve lands. Today, that legislation is the *Indian Act 1951,* which applies to people with Indian status and to Indian reserves in all parts of Canada.

There are over 270,000 status Indians in Canada. They are "registered as an Indian" under the terms of the *Indian Act.* Indian status means membership in a particular band which normally has the right to use and occupy one or more Indian reserves. There are 561 Indian bands and 2,300 Indian reserves in Canada. Within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Indian and Eskimo Affairs Branch provides services only to persons with Indian status and limits its programs to those people who are living on Indian reserves.

The means by which Indian status is determined, retained or lost are complicated. Briefly, the present system does not focus on race, culture or residency, but on kinship. All members of a nuclear family unit (husband, wife and children) will have the same status as the husband-father. In this situation, the male spouse is treated as the head of the household for the purposes of establishing the status of all members of the nuclear family unit. A woman's status will change upon marriage if her status before marriage was different from her husband's. A woman who is racially a non-Indian will gain Indian status upon marriage to a man with Indian status. Likewise, a woman who is a status Indian will lose her status upon marriage to a man who does not have Indian status.

Indian status can be terminated voluntarily. The term "enfranchisement" describes this procedure and comes from the post-Second World War era. Persons with Indian status could not vote in Canadian elections and "enfranchisement" is still used in the Indian Act to describe the termination of Indian status, despite the fact that recent legislation has allowed the status Indians to vote.

(2) Non-Status Indians

The *Indian Act* is not a racial system. Persons who are racially Indian or who have some Indian racial descent can however, have no Indian status or be called Non-Status Indian. This term "Non-Status" refers to persons who lack status for one of three reasons:

(a) They are women who married men who did not have Indian status or persons who descended from such a marriage;

(b) They or their ancestors were never included in a band by some accident or omission;

(c) They or one of their ancestors "enfranchised", or voluntarily gave up their status.

Except under Northern Development Branch of DIAND, the federal government assumes no special responsibility for this group of people, stating that they are in the same legal situation as non-Indian Canadians.

(3) Métis

Indian and mestizo people in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and the Northwest Territories were given a choice in the years between 1871 and 1925 to sign treaties as "Indians" or accept title to individual land holdings as "half-breeds". The indigenous people who were tribally organized became treaty Indians. They accepted Indian reserves and, after the Treaty, lived under the provisions of the *Indian Act*. Others, both Indians and mix-bloods who chose individual land holdings or "half-breed scrip" (money) were known as "Half-Breeds". There was no special legislation to govern the lives of "Half-Breeds" or to protect their lands, aside from the civil rights that provinces administer.

The term mestizo or "Métis" is used to describe the people who do not have Indian status because their ancestors took "Half-Breed" land grants or "Half-Breed Scrip". The *Indian Act* states that persons who received or who were allotted "half-breed lands or money scrip" and their descendants are not entitled to be registered under the *Indian Act*.

Alberta has established a system of Métis colonies and enacted special legislation, the *Metis Betterment Act*. This legislation roughly patterns the Indian Reserve system. Saskatchewan gave a land grant to the Métis at Green Lake in 1946 based on a scheme similar to Alberta's.

(4) Inuit

There are approximately 18,500 Inuit in Canada. These people are classified by anthropologists as an Indian group. Traditionally, the Inuit lived north of the tree-line in Canada. The majority of Inuit, some 13,000, live in the Northwest Territories. About 6,000 Inuit live in Quebec and Labrador.

The B.N.A. Act gave the government of Canada jurisdiction over "Indians, and Lands Reserved for Indians" in 1867. However, a question arose as to whether the term "Indians" as used in the Constitution, included Eskimos. The Supreme Court in 1939 ruled that the term "Indians", for constitutional purposes included Inuit. In 1951, the Parliament of Canada included a special section in the *Indian Act* stating that the Act did not include Eskimos. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs extends some services to the Inuit people in Labrador under a special arrangement with the federal government and the government of Newfoundland. The Inuit in the Northwest Territories come under the responsibility of the Northern Development Branch. Since 1966, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has been administered under one Minister.

The four categories of indigenous persons are well established in Canadian life and thought. Yet, there are controversies over existing definitions and the legal significance attached to each category. There is no clear legal or policy statement by the federal government explaining this difference in terms of treatment. The differences arise for various historical and political reasons.

The Status Indian population can be accurately stated at any point of time because the *Indian Act* allows for provisions for official band lists. The Inuit, on the other hand, have only recently become the subject of statistical gathering because communities are isolated and interchange has been limited. In the case

of the Métis and Non-Status Indians, no reliable statistics exist; only rough estimates are possible because most Métis and Non-Status Indians are not part of recognizable native communities. Questions seeking to define the group have generally been unanswered. Status and non-status differentiation are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Differentiation of Status and Non-Status Indians

STATUS INDIAN	NON-STATUS INDIAN
Officially Registered Indian	Non-Status persons (No Treaty)
Treaty	
Non-Treaty	Métis (Half-Breed land grant or money)
	Inuit (No Treaty)
Indian	"Enfranchised Indian"

Much of the difficulty in finding "hard data" on the Non-Status Indians, Métis and Inuit peoples results from the fact that they are not systematically enumerated and, consequently, studies focus on Status Indian people. Furthermore, a summary of impressions drawn from the available literature leads to the belief that the term "Native" tends to be used generally, that is, without explanation differentiating the conditions surrounding "Status Indian" and "Non-Status Indian", or both. Statistically, the literature references appear to be related to the conditions associated with the "Status" Indian.[1] Because of the constraints of the hard data, all or most of the information contained in this paper will deal only with Status Indians, except those sections specified as indigenous people. The approximate composition of the Indigenous peoples is as follows:

Status Indians	270,000
Non-Status Indians and Métis	270,000
Inuit	18,500
TOTAL:	558,500

[1] The material contained in this section is taken from the information package, *The Indigenous People of Canada,* a report prepared by the National Indian Brotherhood for the International Conference of Indigenous Peoples, October 1975, pp. 1-9.

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF INDIANS

Canada's Indian people do not share in the benefits and material rewards that the rest of Canadian society enjoys. One speculative estimate made by the National Indian Brotherhood was that, if the 2,300 Indian reserves in Canada were lumped together as one country, it would be on a level of socio-economic life comparable with the third world country of Botswana in Africa. (See Table 3.)

TABLE 3

Economic Acticity for Indians on Reserves and Crown Lands* Fiscal Year: 1973-1974

Activity	Number of Operations	Number of Indians Employed	Number of Man-Months Employed	Total Income
Agriculture	2,187	4,216	20,604	$ 4,981,472
Fishing	1,675	2,794	14,260	10,344,738
Forestry	469	2,251	12,131	5,889,092
Arts & Crafts	3,857	5,533	17,393	1,937,445
Tourist Outfitting & Guiding	475	1,008	2,745	1,129,485
Commercial Recreation	59	271	1,288	329,595
Industrial, Commercial & Real Estate	990	2,837	23,091	8,393,061
Mineral	46	29	101	23,922
Wildlife	5,053	5,506	13,767	3,307,203
Total	14,811	24,445	105,380	36,336,013
OTHER ACTIVITIES[1]	---	15,483	107,222	---
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT[2]	---	39,928	212,602	---

AVERAGE MAN-MONTHS PER INDIAN EMPLOYED: 4.5

INCOME FROM ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES	$
Average income per Indian employed	1,959
Average income per man-month	454

GENERAL INFORMATION	No.
Number of bands in survey	506
Indian population	193,551
Number of reserves	2,168
Acreage of Indian reserves	6,042,714

(1) Other than Economic Development

(2) For Indians living on reserve and Crown land only

* Indian Economic Activity, 1972-1973, 1973-1974, Departmental Statistics Division and Regional Economic Planning and Development Division, D.I.A.N.D.

The problems that confront Indian people every day are: (1) high unemployment, (2) low income, (3) low living standard, (4) lack of technical skills, (5) lack of resources, (6) welfare reliance, (7) restricted level of education, and (8) lack of mobility. This is in sharp contrast to the rest of Canadian society which prides itself in having a standard of living comparable to that of West Germany and the Scandinavian countries.[1] In theory, it may be argued that socio-economic equality exists for all in Canada, however, in reality, this does not appear to be the situation. The Honourable Judd Buchanan, the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development commented recently that:

> *"Indian people suffer from any problem which affects the particular area in which they live and are likely to suffer from it more than their neighbours. Where regional disadvantages exist, they affect the Indian element of the region more than most . . . Where lack of resources deters growth and development, the Indian people will be further behind their neighbours . . . Every manifestation of difficulty will weigh more heavily on the Indian community than on most others."* [2]

The present rate of unemployment among Indian people is a staggering 53 per cent. At worst, this rate can, in certain areas, reach as high as 95 per cent. At the present time, an unemployment rate among Canadians of 6 per cent is the cause of economic alarm.

In economic terms 41 per cent of the Indian people are receiving welfare, compared to the national rate of 3.7 per cent. According to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty in 1970, of the Indian population, 46 per cent were unemployed and living on welfare, a rate almost ten times the national average. The Indian people migrating to job centres in urban areas receive the lowest priority by governments at all levels. According to the Department of Indian Affairs, the unemployment among Indian people in urban areas in 1971 was 68 per cent. Another study indicated that fewer than 10 per cent who find work are able to get jobs classified as skilled or better.[3]

Indians are in need of help on all fronts. Positive change both by government and industry must take place if tangible results are to be brought about for an improved quality of life among Indian people. There is a realization on the part of some that this may come about through the mining industry, which could provide employment opportunities.

---

[1] National Indian Brotherhood, A Paper, "For Discussion Only", Statement on Economic Development of Indian Communities, 1972.

[2] Speech notes for the Honourable Judd Buchanan, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, delivered to the Prospectors and Developers Association, Toronto, March 9, 1976.

[3] "Fact Sheet on the Economic and Social Conditions for Canadian Indians", Jacquie Weitz, National Indian Brotherhood, March 1975.

The concept of employing native people should be given serious consideration if changes for the better in the life style of the Indian is to be made. The present rate of Indian participation in the mining industry is low .81 of one per cent! Statistics Canada reported in 1971 that there was a total of 1,085 native Indian males and females employed in mining out of a national total of 129,675 workers — a figure less than 1 per cent. The breakdown of the labour force: total and native Indian by Province, industry and sex, is shown in Tables 4 and 5 and Figure 1.

TABLE 4

The Mineral Industry: Labour Force and Native Indian Participation

	LABOUR FORCE			
Industry	Total		Native Indian	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mines (Including Milling)	129,675	9,365	1,085	30
Quarries and Oil Wells	---	---	---	---
Metal Mines	65,220	2,820	620	5
Placer Gold Mines	495	85	5	—
Gold Quartz Mines	5,615	170	85	—
Uranium Mines	2,230	115	25	—
Iron Mines	10,325	540	150	—
Miscellaneous Metal Mines	46,555	1,920	355	5
Mineral Fuels	25,095	3,950	100	10
Coal Mines	8,610	195	30	—
Crude Petroleum and Natural Gas Industry	16,485	3,755	65	10
Non-Metal Mines (except Coal Mines)	15,225	790	85	—
Asbestos Mines	7,540	385	45	—
Peat Extraction	1,395	80	10	—
Gypsum Mines	655	35	--	—
Miscellaneous Non-Metal Mines	5,640	290	35	—
Quarries and Sand Pits	6,480	290	50	—
Stone Quarries	2,800	120	30	—
Sand Pits or Quarries	3,680	175	20	—
Services Incidental to Mining	17,650	1,505	235	10
Contract Drilling for Petroleum	4,380	295	35	—
Other Contract Drilling	3,140	155	60	5
Miscellaneous Services Incidental to Mining	10,120	1,050	140	10

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Industries, Catalogue #94-754, Volume III Part 5.

TABLE 5

The Mineral Industry: Labour Force and Native Indian Participation, by Province

Industry Division by Province	LABOUR FORCE			
	Total		Native Indian	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
NEWFOUNDLAND:				
Mines (Including Milling) Quarries and Oil Wells	4,770	160	10	–
Metal Mines	3,625	115	5	–
Non-Metal Mines (Except Coal Mines)	940	(no entry)	5	(no entry)
Service Incidental to Mining	150	(no entry)	–	(no entry)
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND:				
Mines (Including Milling) Quarries and Oil Wells	45	(no entry)	–	(no entry)
NOVA SCOTIA:				
Mines (Including Milling) Quarries and Oil Wells	6,050	110	5	–
Metal Mines	120	(no entry)	–	(no entry)
Mineral Fuels	4,660	65	–	–
Non-Metal Mines (Except Coal Mines)	920	(no entry)	5	(no entry)
Quarries and Sand Pits	180	(no entry)	–	(no entry)
Services Incidental to Mining	170	(no entry)	–	(no entry)
NEW BRUNSWICK:				
Mines (Including Milling) Quarries and Oil Wells	3,110	75	5	–
Metal Mines	2,020	40	–	
Mineral Fuels	295	(no entry)	–	(no entry)
Non-Metal Mines (Except Coal Mines)	315	(no entry)	–	(no entry)
Quarries and Sand Pits	135	(no entry)	–	(no entry)
Services Incidental to Mining	345	(no entry)	5	(no entry)
QUEBEC:				
Mines (Including Milling) Quarries and Oil Wells	24,150	1,175	170	5
Metal Mines	12,740	625	125	–
Mineral Fuels	445	70	–	–
Non-Metal Mines (Except Coal Mines)	7,430	275	15	5
Quarries and Sand Pits	1,865	75	5	–
Services Incidental to Mining	1,670	130	25	–

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

Industry Division by Province	LABOUR FORCE			
	Total		Native Indian	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
ONTARIO:				
Mines (Including Milling) Quarries and Oil Wells	38,370	2,170	325	10
Metal Mines	30,045	1,265	245	5
Mineral Fuels	745	245	5	–
Non-Metal Mines (Except Coal Mines)	1,390	110	10	–
Quarries and Sand Pits	2,785	145	30	–
Services Incidental to Mining	3,405	405	35	5
MANITOBA:				
Mines (Including Milling) Quarries and Oil Wells	7,460	345	130	10
Metal Mines	5,650	255	80	5
Mineral Fuels	115	(no entry)	–	(no entry)
Non-metal Mines (Except Coal Mines)	135	(no entry)	–	(no entry)
Quarries and Sand Pits	460	(no entry)	5	(no entry)
Services Incidental to Mining	1,100	70	45	5
SASKATCHEWAN:				
Mines (Including Milling) Quarries and Oil Wells	7,105	270	95	–
Metal Mines	1,300	35	40	–
Mineral Fuels	1,260	55	–	–
Non-Metal Mines (Except Coal Mines)	2,840	115	20	–
Quarries and Sand Pits	110	(no entry)	–	–
Services Incidental to Mining	1,595	60	35	–
ALBERTA:				
Mines (Including Milling) Quarries and Oil Wells	22,605	3,980	130	10
Metal Mines	245	(no entry)	10	(no entry)
Mineral Fuels	15,760	3,390	70	10
Non-Metal Mines (Except Coal Mines)	245	70	–	–
Quarries and Sand Pits	325	(no entry)	5	(no entry)
Services Incidental to Mining	6,030	490	45	–

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

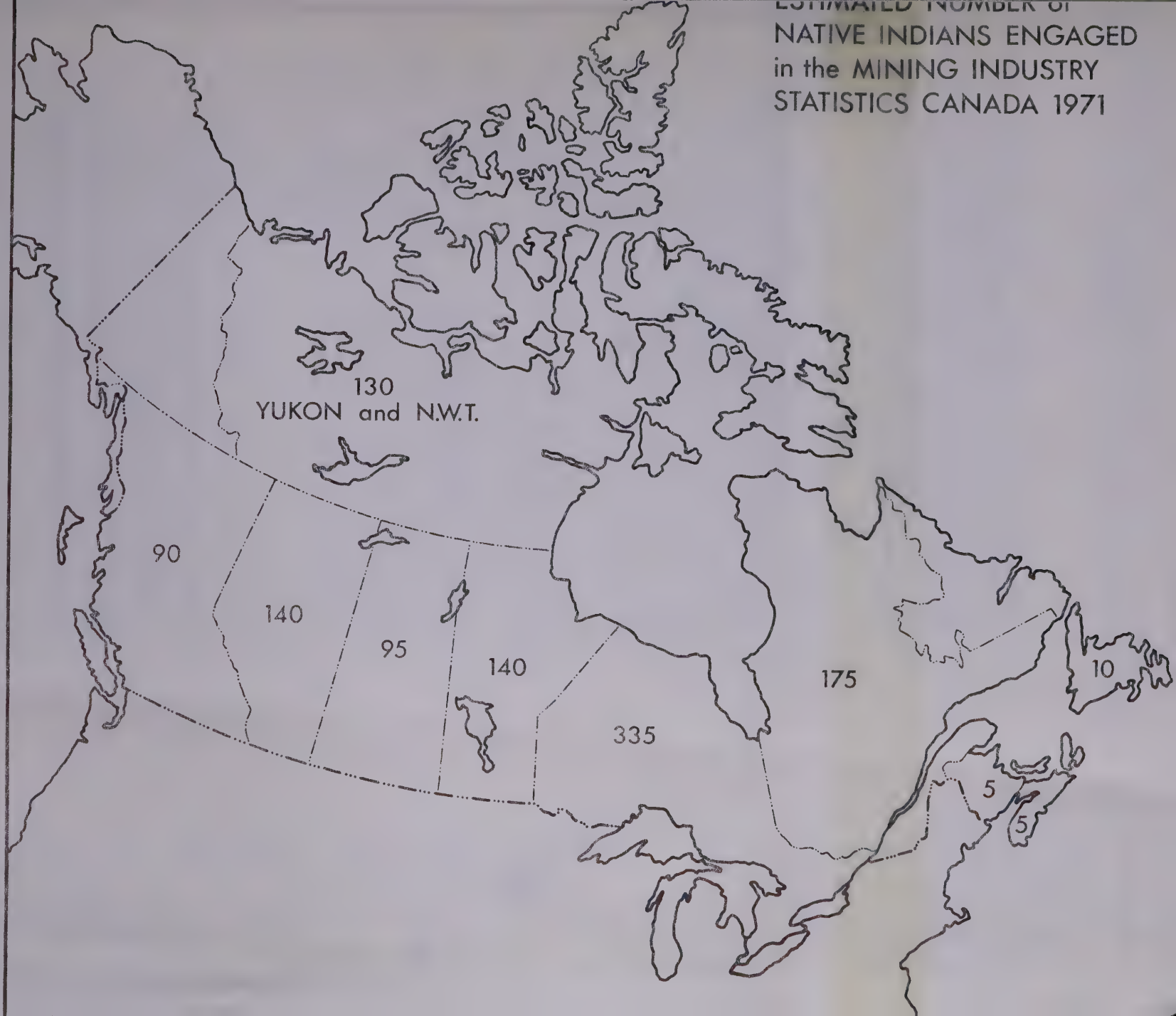
Industry Division by Province	LABOUR FORCE			
	Total		Native Indian	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
BRITISH COLUMBIA:				
Mines (Including Milling) Quarries and Oil Wells	13,780	935	90	–
Metal Mines	7,760	405	40	–
Mineral Fuels	1,690	90	5	–
Non-Metal Mines (Except Coal Mines)	755	110	20	–
Quarries and Sand Pits	575	(no entry)	–	(no entry)
Services Incidental to Mining	3,000	300	25	–
YUKON AND NORTHWEST TERRITORIES:				
Mines (Including Milling) Quarries and Oil Wells	2,210	135	130	5
Metal Mines	1,695	(no entry)	75	(no entry)
Mineral Fuels	85	80	20	5
Non-Metal Mines (Except Coal Mines)	250	(no entry)	10	(no entry)
Services Incidental to Mining	180	(no entry)	25	(no entry)

Source: 1971 Census of Canada Industries, Catalogue No. 94-754 volume III, Part 5.

Two main reasons emerge as to the causes of this low level of Indian participation. First, confronted with leaving a known life style on the reserve and entering an unknown living and working environment, Indians have remained ignorant of the proper educational requirements needed to gain secure, well-paying jobs in mining offering possibilities of promotion and advancement. Second, the attitudes of the mining industry are often at odds with the aspirations of native peoples. In order to understand these factors and try to change the present situation, it is felt the level of education among Indians as well as Indian stereotypes should be reviewed.

EDUCATION

Figures from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development for 1973-1974 reveal that there were a total of 74,575 children of Indian parentage in school from grades Kindergarten through Grade 13. Of this total, 43 per cent attended schools on the reserve and 57 per cent were registered in schools off the reserve. Thirteen per cent of the total number of students were in high school, but, although there have been improvements in the educational system, statistics show that 80.9 per cent of status Indian children drop out


ESTIMATED NUMBER of
NATIVE INDIANS ENGAGED
in the MINING INDUSTRY
STATISTICS CANADA 1971
130
YUKON and N.W.T.
90
140
95
140
335
175
10
5
5

before completing high school.[1] Less than 1 per cent of all Indian students are in university or college, as compared with the Canadian national average of 5 per cent. From 1944 to 1974, there have been 526 Indians who have obtained university degrees or nursing or teaching certificates.[2] These figures represent only .01 per cent of the total Indian population. At present, there are only two Mohawk Indians with mining engineering degrees.[3]

While the Office of Continuing Education in the Indian and Eskimo Affairs Branch of DIAND has developed and financed special programs to upgrade the basic educational skills of older Indian mine workers, few long-term efforts are being made to develop continuing education programs that would qualify Indians to occupy jobs within the mining industry.[4] This situation exists despite the frequent close proximity of Indian communities to mine sites.

Two relatively short-term educational projects were undertaken which had some degree of success for those fortunate enough to have been involved. These were programs devised by Alberta Newstart Inc., together with a system of job placement; and the Cutbank Project sponsored by Saskatchewan, under federal-provincial auspices which provided a mixture of academic and skill training associated with work experience. While these two projects were not directly involved with the teaching of skills necessary to the mining industry, they do provide models of the kind of educational activity which, if on-going, might meet with considerable success.

Another project that should be cited was undertaken at the Anglo-Rouyn Mine at La Ronge, Saskatchewan. In July 1969, the mine workforce was composed of somewhat more than 20 per cent indigenous persons. Three 12-week training programs were operated, six trainees being admitted to each of the three courses.

There is little question that the La Ronge experiment was a success, but, as has been pointed out in the Mid-Canada Task Force Reports, short-term courses are not considered the answer, nor are the formal schooling systems of the south considered appropriate. The Mid-Canada group felt that while the whole northern educational system required re-evaluation, the immediate task was to teach skills on a continuing basis which could be both usefully and gainfully applied.[5] Once trained, however, the question then becomes: How likely are members of native communities to find work? Until recently the answer was — unlikely!

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[1] *And What About Canada's Native People?* Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples, Ottawa, 1976, p. 9.

[2] "Fact Sheet on the Economic and Social Conditions for Canadian Indians", Jacquie Weitz, National Indian Brotherhood, March 1975.

[3] This information was confirmed by Shannon Chrisjohn, Education Branch of the Indian and Eskimo Affairs Branch of DIAND, Ottawa, March 1976.

[4] These comments are based on my conversation with Robert Biddle, Office of Continuing Education at DIAND, Ottawa, March 1976.

[5] See "Abstracts of Post Training Programs of Native People" Canadian Arctic Gas Pipelines Ltd., Appendix B-12, p. 97.

THE INDIAN STEREOTYPE

There are several Indian stereotypes which have existed and, it must be said, still exist in Canada which contribute to the inability of native people to find employment. Early impressions of the Indian have been and, in a certain measure, are gained still, through a variety of media such as popular legend, comic books, textbooks, theatre, radio and television. What has emerged from this barrage has been three acknowledged stereotypes which, while seemingly harmless, have nevertheless firmly impressed themselves in the minds of Canadians from early childhood through old age and have done the Indian as a people no good at all.

The first of these is the image of a people who paint their faces, wear feathers, carry bows and arrows and ride on pinto ponies. While this image may be oversimplified and almost comic, another is drawn from history textbooks in which Indians are portrayed as trappers and canoemen and, more subtly, often as an angry people who torture their victims; a people of faltering allegiances, at war with each other and easily influenced by "white men" offering "firewater" to impair the Indian's rationality and ensure his malleability. The third stereotype comes from the press and other media of public information. Their portrayal is one, generally speaking, of impoverishment and overcrowding. This is not, however, without foundation. Indians have an extremely low annual income. But the image goes beyond the facts. It becomes an image of a people who are immoral, lazy, frequently inebriated and unambitious.[1]

These and other such stereotypes, even if only vague, frequently determine how one people perceive another. As with almost all stereotypes, however, they fail to reflect the positive character of a people. Regrettably, the stereotype image is a powerful social determinant, for unconsciously it conditions the way in which one people behave and respond towards another. This has been a genuine hindrance to the employment opportunities of natives. To put the matter in its most blunt terms, racism exists in Canada.

As explained by David Hughes and Evelyn Kallen:

> *"Canadians have long prided themselves in being citizens of a country which has no "race problem". The Canadian national self-image has, from the beginning, been that of a tolerant, law-abiding nation dedicated in practice, as in ideology, to democracy and peace. . .*
>
> *". . . Ironically, it has been the recent post-war immigration of American and West Indian Blacks to Canada that has brought to the fore the latent racism within the Canadian stratification system. When questions as to their experience of prejudice and discrimination in Canada, vis-à-vis the United States, recent Black immigrants have suggested that the difference is a subtle one (Toronto Daily Star, 1972). Canadians, it appears are 'polite racists'."*[2]

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[1] Gerald Walsh, *Indians in Transition*, McClelland and Steward Limited, 1971, p. 4-5.

[2] David R. Hughes and Evelyn Kallen, "Whither Canadians? Problems and Prospects", *Anatomy of Canadian Dimensions*, Harvest House Ltd., Montreal 1974, pp. 213-214.

One could repeat the story for all visible minorities, Indians, Metis and Inuit alike – as the authors demonstrate. The point is that racism, whether polite or rude, is deeply rooted in the Canadian psyche.

The uneducated and unskilled Indian gave credibility to the stereotype of the untrainable and lazy Indian. Not long ago industry felt that Indians generally did not like to work. Measured by the work ethic used by industry, it was not difficult to conclude that Indian people were unproductive. This corporate "yardstick" consciously or unconsciously imposed economic values upon Indians which were not their own but which companies belived they should abide by, never bothering to comprehend the values of the Indian population itself.

It is all-too-often forgotten that the native population supported itself extremely well in this country for centuries prior to the industrial revolution.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

A proliferation of human rights legislation both at the federal and provincial levels, an increase in positive governmental activities, and the growth in recent years of major enterprises in manufacturing and resource processing in many Indian communities have aided in showing Indian stereotypes to be false. While this effort has not yet greatly affected unemployment and welfare rates, and in all probability will not for some time to come, job opportunities are being introduced and skills gradually taught. In addition, improvements, both in reserve schools and in some provincial educational systems, *are* being made. There are now approximately 174 native language programs being operated in federally-run schools and 23 dialects are being taught. There have also been moves to eliminate stereotypes from textbooks and initiate Native Study programs in universities and some high schools. "It is too soon to measure success in terms of high-school diplomas, professional graduates or improvements of social and economic conditions on reserves. But the evidence is that the process has started".[1]

The process has started in other areas as well. Through the United Steelworkers and the Iron Ore Company of Canada at Schefferville, Quebec, efforts have been made to recruit Indian people into training and apprenticeship programs. This effort has had marked success and several Montagnais and Naskapi Indians are presently employed with the Iron Ore Company. The mining operation at Faro in the Yukon has a union membership that consists mainly of northern indigenous persons. Their union contract allows the employees of Cyprus Anvil Mining Corporation time to hunt and fish, during the respective seasons, while continuing to remain employed at the mine. Another such innovation is the monthly tonnage quota which, when met, allows those involved to "take time off".

The decision by Gulf Oil Limited to approach the settlement Council at Coppermine marked another of the innovations which the mineral industry is now considering. In this instance, Gulf Oil wished to see if the Inuit were interested in the rotation employment plan which the company had to offer.

[1] *And what About Canada's Native People?* op. cit., p. 14-16.

The work shift involved a 12-hour day for 14 days without a break, at the end of which the workers would be flown back to their homes for a 7-day "long break". At the conclusion of follow-up studies at the end of the 1973-74 and 1974-75 work seasons, results had been sufficiently gratifying to the company to continue the program and of equal significance, it was endorsed by the Coppermine Inuit community itself.[1]

RECENT EXPERIENCE

There are several reasons why Indian people should consider employment in the mining industry. One is certainly the large salaries paid — according to Statistics Canada, the mining industry average weekly earning is $270.15.[2] But perhaps an even more important reason is the nearness of mines to many reserves. A map showing the concentrations of Indian populations and locations of mines is included in this study. (See Figures 2 and 3.) Bruce McFarlane's article, "Manpower Problems in the Canadian Mineral Industry: One Possible Solution", strongly emphasizes this point.

> *". . . where is the new generation of mining employees, particularly in North and more remote regions of Canada to come from? At the outset of this talk, I said that I had no clear-cut solutions, but at this time I would like to put before you one pool of potential recruits which to date has been virtually untapped by the mineral industry of Canada — the Indians, the northern Indians and the Eskimos. These are people who regard the North and more remote regions of Canada as home — they do not have to be attracted there!"*[3]

This idea could bring about a positive change in the life styles of many northern indigenous communities and, at the same time develop the talents of the Indian as a productive miner. In a manner similar to the Mohawk Ironworker who goes about his chore of erecting bridges and skyscrapers throughout North America or the Navaho miner in the American Southwest, the Canadian Indian could become a productive contributing member of society.

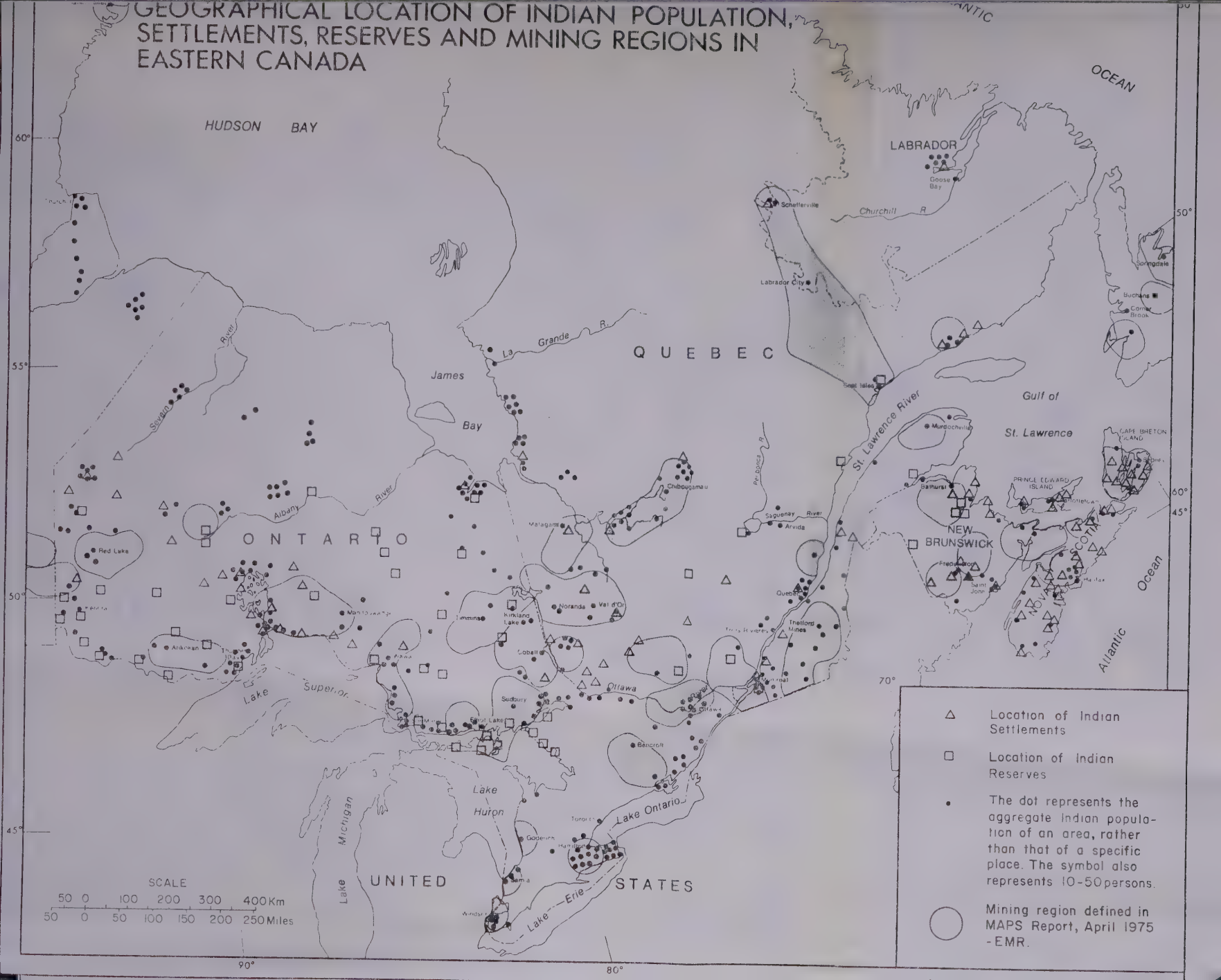
Petroleum and mining companies have several successful programs both in Canada and the United States. In addition to the Gulf Oil project at Coppermine already mentioned, Kent C. Ware, Indian Affairs representative with the Gulf Oil Corporation in the U.S. reports that the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs has for some time had a training program for Indian persons who wish to pursue mining on the Papago Indian Reservation near Tucson, Arizona. This is a vocational training program which helps native American Indians learn the skills and trades needed for the mining and petroleum industries and has been so successful that mining companies in Arizona have been known to "steal" another company's Navaho coal miner.

[1] Chuck Hobart "Inuit Employment in Oil Exploration" *Social Sciences in Canada,* Vol. 4, no. 2, 1976, p. 16, 17.

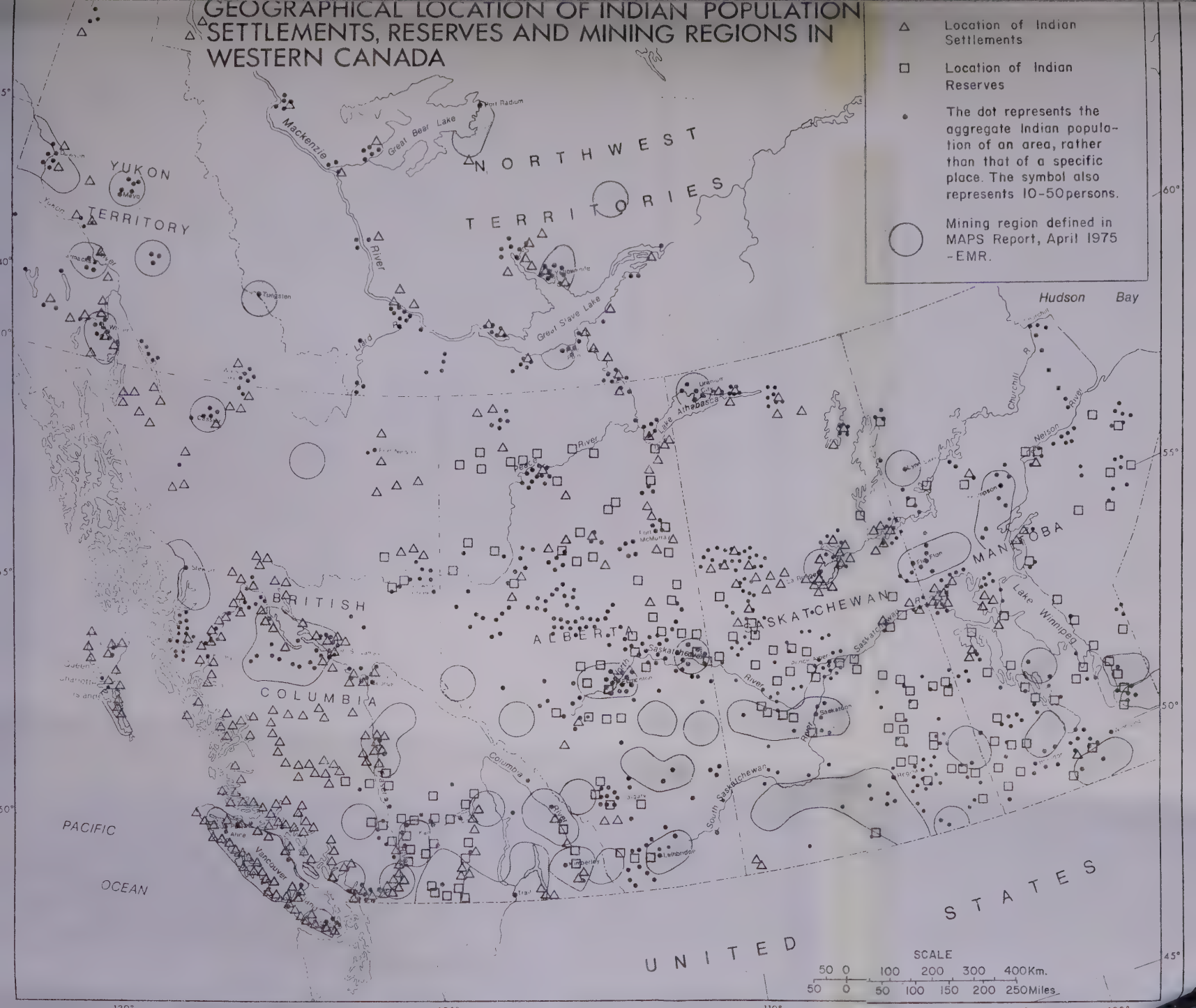
[2] Statistics Canada, *Informat,* Weekly Bulletin, May 30, 1975.

[3] Bruce A. McFarlane, *Canadian Institute of Mining, Bulletin* for September 1972, pp. 109-113.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF INDIAN POPULATION, SETTLEMENTS, RESERVES AND MINING REGIONS IN EASTERN CANADA


HUDSON BAY
LABRADOR
OCEAN
QUEBEC
James Bay
La Grande R.
Churchill R.
Gulf of St. Lawrence
St. Lawrence River
ONTARIO
NEW BRUNSWICK
NOVA SCOTIA
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
CAPE BRETON ISLAND
Lake Superior
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
UNITED STATES
Atlantic Ocean
Goose Bay
Schefferville
Labrador City
Sept Iles
Murdochville
Chibougamau
Matagami
Saguenay River
Arvida
Quebec
Bathurst
Fredericton
Saint John
Halifax
Sydney
Springdale
Buchans
Corner Brook
Red Lake
Kirkland Lake
Noranda
Val d'Or
Timmins
Cobalt
Sudbury
Ottawa
Thetford Mines
Asbestos
Montreal
Bancroft
Toronto
Hamilton
Goderich
Sarnia
Windsor
Albany River
Severn River
Attawapiskat River
Pagwachuan River
Pipestone River
Winisk River
Kenogami River
Mattagami River
Montreal River
Moose River
Missinaibi River
Mississagi River
Spanish River
Wanapitei River
Vermilion River
Seine River
Nipigon River
Kaministiquia River
Pigeon River
Winnipeg River
Manitou Lake
Wabigoon River
Manitou River
Lake of the Woods
Rainy River
Rainy Lake
Atikokan
Thunder Bay
Nipigon
Geraldton
Longlac
Kapuskasing
Hearst
Moosonee
Moose Factory
Fort Albany
Attawapiskat
Winisk
Sachigo Lake
Pickle Lake
Ear Falls
Sioux Lookout
Dryden
Kenora
Fort Frances
Emo
Atikokan
Red Lake
Manitouwadge
Marathon
Wawa
Sault Ste. Marie
Sudbury
Elliot Lake
Timmins
Kirkland Lake
Cobalt
Haileybury
Temiskaming
North Bay
Parry Sound
Midland
Orillia
Barrie
Owen Sound
Collingwood
Kitchener
Guelph
Brantford
Hamilton
St. Catharines
Niagara Falls
Welland
Port Colborne
Toronto
Oshawa
Whitby
Peterborough
Belleville
Trenton
Kingston
Cornwall
Brockville
Prescott
Pembroke
Renfrew
Arnprior
Carleton Place
Perth
Smiths Falls
Brockville
Cornwall
Hawkesbury
Ottawa
Gatineau
Shawinigan
Trois Rivières
Thetford Mines
Asbestos
Drummondville
Sherbrooke
Magog
Granby
Valleyfield
Montreal
Joliette
Repentigny
Terrebonne
Lachute
Hull
Buckingham
Maniwaki
Mont Laurier
Ste. Agathe des Monts
St. Jerome
Rouyn
Noranda
Val d'Or
Amos
La Sarre
Matagami
Chibougamau
Chapais
Lebel sur Quevillon
Senneterre
Malartic
Val d'Or
Rouyn
Noranda

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF INDIAN POPULATION SETTLEMENTS, RESERVES AND MINING REGIONS IN WESTERN CANADA



There is evidence also to suggest that the native American Indians are gaining entry to management positions within the industry. Currently, there are four Indian mining engineers working for the Utah International Company. Academic institutions have admitted a need to train engineers for these fields. The University of New Mexico at Albuquerque, through the College of Engineering, has instituted a program this academic year for Indian engineers. The project is titled Native American Program College of Engineering (NAPCOE). The University of Oklahoma at Norman, also has a similar program.[1]

At the present time the mineral industry is having great problems in attracting and retaining adequate supplies of manpower in its effort to meet current production targets. If long-term forecasts of production levels are to be met, it is estimated that the mining labour force will have to grow at an annual rate of 2.4 per cent for the remainder of this century. This situation has led some observers to conclude that the most significant constraint to growth will be the limited availability of labour. Thus, the problem is clear and failure to offset it will seriously undermine the industry's potential for growth.

The indigenous people have, with few exceptions, constituted only a fraction of the mining labour force, even when mine sites are immediately adjacent to native communities. By creating suitable training programs and improved employment opportunities, manpower shortages in the mineral industry could be alleviated. At the same time, a relatively stable economic base for native people in the more remote regions of this country could be assured.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Interest in training and employment programs within the mineral industry seems high among native peoples. Yet prior to their implementation, industry must be willing to adapt and modify its existing management practices in ways that will reflect, if not acceptance, at least an understanding of the cultural values of the people they employ. Modifications of corporate hiring practices, for example, might include a willingness to experiment with provisions for time off during the hunting season and the hiring of families or whole bands to manage portions of the mining operation on a quota basis. It might also include training programs for management and supervisory personnel alike in order to sensitize them to life styles which are not their own. There could be further corporate experimentation with transportation methods to and from work sites as the Gulf Oil Company has done from Coppermine, and Gulf Minerals from Rabbit Lake to points as far as 450 miles distant.

On the other hand, if indigenous people are to take a meaningful place in the mine work force, they must be made more aware of the employment opportunities in the mineral industry at the secondary and post-secondary school levels. Furthermore, apprenticeship and training courses in skills and trades directly related to the mineral industry, such as the operation of heavy equipment and para-technical mining skills should be undertaken whenever feasible by the industry, as they have been by Cominco at Pine Point, N.W.T.

[1] Letter from Kent C. Ware, Gulf Oil Corporation, Denver, Colorado, March 19, 1976.

Native persons must be prepared to acquire job-related skills in order to ensure their usefulness to the mineral industry. It is for this reason that increased opportunities for job training are needed, and needed at various levels. Such multi-level, job-related education would permit their advancement within technical occupations, allow further advancement from the technical to the professional plateau, and ensure the industry the on-going manpower it requires while offering meaningful employment to the native people.

Finally, in addition to those already mentioned, two additional comments can be made: First, there must be continuous opportunity for productive dialogue between employed native persons and management. This might be achieved through the establishment of some form of the European Works Council concept, or handled as a discrete component of union-management consultation. Second, it is important when designing future mining communities, to take care to avoid segregating the living area of native people from the community as a whole. As long as they are not fully integrated into the community, racial stereotyping will be perpetuated.

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LAZORE, Glen
AUTHOR

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